

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

What Women Can Still Do For Peace :

KEEP YOUR MINDS ON THE FUTURE

Hold On To The Ideal

"As I write these words, the war is getting hourly fiercer and more terrible," writes Mary Gamble in this article. "As the grip of war relentlessly tightens, so we must turn our minds to the future, striving to keep the spirit of peace in our hearts," she adds.

Miss Gamble, who is one of those who guide the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, is chairman of the Women's Peace Campaign, and in her speeches and other work for the pacifist movement has given special attention to women's responsibility in the matter of peace.

By MARY GAMBLE

DEEP down within me, I am convinced that we are only on the fringe of the real problem of women and peace.

I believe we have to go far, far deeper to think, to read, to study. And this process of thought must go on side by side with our practical activities; and only so long as they go on simultaneously will those activities have any value. The oak tree cannot thrive and grow and spread great branches unless its roots go deep, deep down into the earth.

In the emancipation of women somehow, somewhere I believe we went astray. It is no answer to tell me that woman as an emancipated human being is still in her infancy; for, if we got on the wrong track right at the beginning, time will not put us on the right one. It may be that our failure lay in an endeavour to ape the male. I do not know. But I am convinced that only an effort to seek the knowledge as to where we went wrong, and an attempt to redress those things which are fundamental to us as women will put us right. I believe that a knowledge of the differences between male and female is essential, because only with that knowledge can we use our own particular functions and characteristics in the cause of peace.

Power for Peace

The world today is the product of man's ingenuity; our civilization is the result of a process of force. From the beginning man has been the fighter, the doer, the hunter. "The male of western civilization has become by force of circumstances the supreme fighting animal of creation." I believe woman is equally to blame for this, for she has withheld her own particular contribution, having made no attempt to discover what that contribution is.

In his *Essay on Woman* Schopenhauer attacks her violently, and declares her to be the natural enemy of man. But, as Benjamin Kidd points out in his *Science of Power*, the very reason for his attack is based upon his assertion that she is the breaker and subduer of man's will power; that is, the will power of the fighting male of the race. Schopenhauer contends that women in the darkest recesses of their hearts "live altogether more in the race than in the individual; they regard the affairs of the species as more serious than those of the individual."

If this is a psychological truth—that woman, just as she carries the future within herself, is by her very nature the custodian of that future, and is willing to subdue the present to the needs of that future—surely then in the very heart of woman's nature lies a tremendous power for peace. For war is the

* *The Science of Power*, by Benjamin Kidd, p. 7.

result of short range animal emotions—the emotions of the hunt, of the fight—directed to the immediate present, utterly regardless of the future and willing to subdue nothing to that future.

If we could once become aware of this psychological and biological characteristic of woman, we should realise our fundamental desire for peace and should see that the qualities of a possessive and predatory character, so usually attributed to us, are really alien to our very nature. The possessiveness of woman is almost entirely due to the vicious social system under which we live where, under the pressure of a competitive and acquisitive society, woman practically has to compete for a husband, and has become predatory, rapacious and ungenerous in the process.

I have only tried to indicate rather gropingly the kind of knowledge after which I believe we must strive. Geoffrey Studdert Kennedy put it all quite simply in his book *The Warrior, the Woman and the Christ*: "What are you going to do about it? You with the bobbed hair and the short skirts and the silk stockings? I wonder do you realise how much depends on you? You have broken

out of the home and taken up your work again. You have come back to the centre of things. But O for Christ's sake remember that you must carry a home in your heart. You must inspire the warrior man to build it. You must say to him 'I will not bear babies to be made cannon fodder of.' Whatever career you may adopt. Whatever work you do. Even though your lot may be the hardest of all lots, and you cannot bear a baby in your arms, you must bear one in your heart. For God made you to bear the future in your heart and you must not shirk it. That is your glory and your pain."

If we bear the future in our hearts, it means that our work for peace will be utterly disinterested, and that our devotion will be based on a realisation that the end may never be attained in our lifetime.

As I write these words the war is getting hourly fiercer and more terrible; as the grip of war relentlessly tightens so we must turn our minds to the future striving to keep the spirit of peace in our hearts. I believe our approach must be altered, for the ability to sustain our witness is surely part of our pacifism. We must have a spirit of toleration even towards suppression. And, as we realise a sense of frustration in our outward activities, move on to a deeper spiritual level.

It is a psychological fact that women have the capacity to remain loyal to an ideal under the greatest difficulties and persecutions, even to the point of enduring mental and bodily tortures. The disinterested love which the finest of us are capable of giving to a person we can project into the cause dearest to our hearts. Love in its very essence means pain and suffering. In the days to come we shall need all our courage, for love and imagination make suffering all the more acute.

Real Peace after the War?

"WIN the war first — then establish just and lasting peace!"

We hear this daily from statesmen and writers of all shades of pro-war opinion. Hear a world-renowned military expert on this attitude:—

"As to peace, we must always remember that a long war tends to a bad peace. Britain has only won two wars decisively in a thousand years—against Napoleon and the Kaiser—and, certainly, in the last case the 'fight to a finish' had bitter fruits.

"You may call me a defeatist, as some do, but I still insist that victory has less to offer than an indecisive war which ends with an agreed peace. The idea of complete and overwhelming victory is the greatest folly on earth; such victories only lead to bankruptcy, moral as well as economic.

"The frequent assertion that we must first 'win the war' before considering the peace is most fallacious. The object of war is to obtain a better peace, even if only from your own point of view. Hence it is essential to conduct war with constant regard to the peace you desire. As I emphasized in *The Defence of Britain*, if you concentrate exclusively on victory, with no thought of the after-effects, you may be too exhausted to profit by the peace, while it is almost certain that the peace will be a bad one, containing the germs of another war. This is a lesson supported by abundance of experience.

"The dictators have been shortsighted as well as callous in the way they have pursued their aims, but at least they have a calculating desire to avoid a ruinous war. The leaders of the democracies, however, having long sought to avoid the least risk of war, are now showing a reckless disregard of all consequences. It is to be hoped that they are wiser than their words."

The military expert was Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, writing in the *Methodist Recorder*.

A Message the Nazis did not Suppress

THE following is a translation of the concluding paragraphs of the report of an address by a German woman (on the words of St. Matthew V, 21-6) given at a religious gathering in Berlin a few weeks ago. The whole address forms a fine commentary on the Sermon on the Mount.

It appears in the April issue of "Der Quäker," a periodical devoted to Christianity of a mystical type. Up to the present the Nazi Government has allowed this monthly journal to be printed and published and to circulate freely in the Reich. A slightly abbreviated translation of Evelyn Underhill's beautiful "Meditation on Peace," published as a leaflet by the Fellowship of Reconciliation last Christmas, has also appeared in its columns.

In view of the very prevalent idea of Germany as a land of deep spiritual darkness and where religious liberty is almost completely suppressed, it is important to draw attention to these facts.

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

RECONCILIATION and love are no mere soft, sentimental activities, nor are they the expression of weak timidity and spineless compliance. These virtues are only genuine when a "converting power" resides in them.

True reconciliation and love is a burning and creative flame, that leaps from one heart to another, making fruitful the seeds of spiritual life. True reconciliation has faith in this divine seed that is in the heart of every man and woman.

This true reconciliation is never just passive. On the contrary, she is the embodiment of heightened activity.

But to the world, to those who put their faith in force, her way is perplexing and astonishing indeed — even though over nineteen hundred years have passed since Jesus of Nazareth recognized hers as the only way in which a world gone quite astray could find salvation and healing.

True reconciliation works by deeds rather than by words. Hers is the wise and generous soul, who foresees clearly the approach of disaster long before it is noticed by her harsh sister, force—force, so short-sighted, notwithstanding her seeming successes.

Reconciliation lifts up her voice in warning, though few may listen to it. When the inevitable disaster comes, with a heart full of grief she stands by in

the background, bearing a large part of the burden of distress. Yet not for a moment, even though her efforts to co-operate actively be quite rejected, does she lose her consciousness of sharing the responsibility for the common downfall.

And when force sits helplessly on the ruins surveying her handiwork, like a naughty child who has torn her doll to bits—when at last the bloodshed ceases, reconciliation is waiting, ready to forget all, to forgive all, to make a new beginning. She does not say: "I warned you; now you must clear up your own mess." She is just there at hand and helps.

(Continued on page 2.)

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A Pacifist Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

SINCE the invasion of the Lowlands interest in what America will do has greatly increased on this side of the Atlantic. In Britain, in particular, the hope that the United States will add substantially to her aid for the Allies is leading to some wishful thinking.

The May 11 issue of "Uncensored," published in New York, contained an examination of America's position which should help to dispel some illusions on this score.

Recalling that President Roosevelt had called for a careful examination of the implications for America of the latest development in the war, "Uncensored" points out that "Hitler's latest move is the beginning of the war on the Western Front—an eventuality which the American people examined carefully seven months ago and decided to meet by staying out of the war and by passing a Neutrality Law to implement that decision.

"Now that the anticipated war has begun, another examination of its implications would seem to be necessary only to those who do not accept the decision of the overwhelming majority of the American people. The President has put himself into this class.

"It is reasonable for the American people to expect from their Chief executive a clear statement—based on their decision to stay out of war—defining America's interests and specifying how he proposes to protect them.

A Message the Nazis did not Suppress (Continued from page 1.)

BUT it is no true reconciliation that bids us give up fighting for truth and justice; that bids us shut our eyes to the injustice of the world and shrink from passing any judgment upon it.

No, she faces all obstacles unflinchingly and she is not content with a mere seeming and superficial solution which contains the seeds of fresh conflicts. True reconciliation will not always try to find the quickest ending to war. She is not there when we gloss over the sins of our enemies and abandon our convictions at the word of those who have outward power over us. But her war is waged with only spiritual weapons and with all possible respect to her adversaries. . . .

WITH the spiritual enemies of Jesus, the Pharisees, there was indeed no true reconciliation. He was very far from hating them.

But He trod the way of spiritual warfare right up to the Cross, which He could have avoided had He made a compromise with them. And on the Cross He spoke those words of reconciliation that remains the strongest and most victorious of all time: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

There are times, and the time of Jesus was one such, when the Cross is the only way of protest, and at the same time the eternal and only symbol of reconciliation. And the history of the world for the last two thousand years is not hard to interpret for the man who knows that even from the pyres where martyrs burn there streams forth the everlasting word of victory, of that victory which has overcome the world.

America's Attitude — "False Hopes" Warning :: C.O.s — Exemption Ignored?

"In his address on May 10 the President once again failed to make that statement.

"Instead, he warned the nation that 'it is four or five hours of travel from the continent of Africa to the continent of South America.' This truth the President brought forward to rectify a false teaching of geography. It is conceivable that Hitler could conquer and pacify Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and the British Empire and establish air bases on the westernmost tip of Africa which would enable him to 'travel' to the easternmost tip of South America from which point, presumably, he would conquer the Western Hemisphere. Military experts doubt it.

"But if the President believes that this is a true teaching of military geography on which to base our defence policy of keeping out of war, he did not specifically say so. He mentioned it in a context of rhetoric which must have aroused false hopes in the hearts of Englishmen and Frenchmen. Such false hopes are a disservice to the Allies, to whom the American people do not want any disservice done."

"Wage Peace"

ALSO interesting as an indication of what some Americans are thinking was a telegram sent to the President from the Chicago headquarters of the Campaign for World Government immediately after the invasion of Holland and Belgium.

"Americans need not stand shivering like sheep until they are driven to slaughter.

The United States is big enough and intelligent enough to avoid waging war by boldly waging peace. We await your leadership," said the telegram, which went on:

"Our country abandoned Belgium and Holland when we refused to support the noble efforts of their sovereigns toward peace. War will continue to spread unless you take the lead in immediate peace action, openly and publicly, so that the peace sentiment of the world can express itself before it is too late.

"War can only force the evacuation of neutral territories after Europe has been starved and devastated, whereas a peace conference could free them immediately.

"The good will of the nation will support you in calling an immediate conference of the remaining non-belligerents to negotiate peace and initiate a world constitutional convention. We will be glad to vote millions for world peace preparations rather than billions for war preparations."

Conscription of Objectors

THE danger that the Government's new powers may mean the virtual abolition of unconditional exemption for C.O.s, which I pointed out only last week, seems to have become very real.

On Monday it was reported that objectors are to be conscripted for land work under the Emergency Powers Act. Presumably this applies to objectors who have not already had another form of alternative service specified by a tribunal.

Thus, although a tribunal may believe

an "absolutist" to be completely sincere and may exempt him from any form of service, the Minister of Agriculture may then conscript him for land work. Yet such conscription is one of the very things to which he is allowed under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act to object!

"What Congress Cannot Do"

IN his weekly paper *Harijan* Mr. M. K. Gandhi replied on May 4 to a correspondent who feared that "England is in distress and by our action we are embarrassing not only England but all other good nations who have been victims of aggression. We are not likely, it seems, to succeed in changing England's heart. . . ." Mr. Gandhi wrote: "I have declared already that I shall do nothing to embarrass Great Britain. She will be embarrassed if there is anarchy in India. That, the Congress, so long as it is under my discipline, will not support.

"What the Congress cannot do is to lend its moral influence to Britain. Moral influence is never mechanically given. It is for Britain to take it. Perhaps British statesmen do not think the Congress has any to lend. Perhaps they think that all they need is material aid in this warring world. If they do, they will not be far wrong.

"Morality is contraband in war. My correspondent has given up the whole of his case for Britain when he says, 'We are not likely to succeed in changing Britain's heart.' I do not wish ill to Britain. I shall grieve if Britain goes down. But the moral influence of the Congress cannot avail Britain unless she washes her hands clean of India. It works under its own unalterable condition."

THAT "FIGHT TO A FINISH" — II

by Wilfred Wellock

The Chances Of An Alternative

LAST week I invited the advocates of a Fight to a Finish carefully to consider what their policy involved.

I then quoted the words of Mr. Arthur Greenwood on what might happen in this country even after an Allied victory. These words may be supplemented by the following quotations:—

Signor Giovanni Ansaldo, editor-in-chief of Count Ciano's newspaper, *Il Telegrafo*, in a broadcast message in April last: "The present war is a terrible one in which entire peoples have put at stake all their forces and all their resources, because they know that those who will be vanquished cannot delude themselves as to their fate. They will be expropriated and impoverished, and the victors will monopolise all the world's resources. There is nothing that will impede the victors from acting thus."

Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, in an article in the *New York Telegram* on April 19 last: "Europe certainly will be reduced to a shambles and a desert if the war is fought out to the bitter end by military,

air and naval battles. . . . If the war is won by a long economic siege it will mean the end of the capitalist system of economics and of democratic politics in the States of the victors and vanquished alike. England's 'money lords' and the financial moguls of France will be dislodged from control far more quickly and more certainly than they ever would have been by any plot engineered by the Comintern and the world revolution."

If my conclusions are justified, and I do not think they can be challenged, it is obvious that a fight to a finish would give rise to a far worse Peace Treaty than Versailles. Every State would go on the defensive and seek to conserve to the utmost whatever economic power it possessed, as happened in the slump of 1930. This tendency would be supported by the intense hatred which a war to a finish would have engendered. Hence once again a defeated nation would be thrust into hopeless poverty, and thereafter prepare for revenge.

However, I am afraid that long before that policy could be fully developed, the whole world would be in the throes of revolutionary change. The bad peace would merely aggravate the situation.

The vital question which emerges, therefore, is can democracy be saved, and if so by what means and under what conditions?

THE ONLY CONDITION

The only condition which I see of doing that in the present world situation is an early ending of the war by a negotiated peace. I am, of course, fully aware that the prospects of such a peace recede as the war gathers in momentum. But the end is not yet, and at least a temporary stalemate is probable before long. Therefore let us be ready.

Here, however, one meets with the objection that a negotiated peace is impossible, since no word of Hitler's can be trusted. To this I would reply that it lies in our power to draw the German people from Hitler should he desire to continue the war in spite of our offer of a satisfactory peace. Let us never forget that Hitler was given power in competition with the Communists, after fifteen years of hopeless poverty and many years of food rationing.

Thus Mr. Attlee, now a member of the War Cabinet, stated as recently as

March last that "the biggest fear in the minds of the German people today is that if they desert Hitler they will experience what they experienced after the last war." Also Mr. William Gallacher, in his presidential address to the Co-operative Congress in Glasgow at Whiteside, 1940, stated: "Of one thing I am profoundly convinced—that the Allies should immediately and without equivocation declare their peace aims. Let the world know, let the neutrals and the German people know that we seek no punitive peace . . . that there is room and a place in the new post-war Europe for 80,000,000 Germans to live in peace and harmony with their fellow-Europeans."

The question arises, therefore, what sort of peace terms are we to offer, and how are we to make them known to the German people?

(To be continued.)

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WHEN WAR WILL CEASE

"WE cannot now stop this war, for wars will cease only when men have passed through suffering and spiritual revolution to a new conception of human brotherhood," writes Vera Brittain, novelist and Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union in her fortnightly *Letter to Peace-Lovers*.

"So long as they are prepared to hate, fight and kill each other for political purposes," she goes on, "governments are likely to compel them to do so. Pacifism is the very reverse of that 'Peace at any price' political defeatism which those who most rabidly misrepresent it endeavour to maintain; it is a way of life, beginning with a personal affirmation of love which it is now clear that centuries of inspired teaching can alone make universal."

"War will cease when the great majority of mankind are persuaded—as at long last they were persuaded of that world-wide institution, slavery—that its practice arises from the abnegation of human reason and the violation of all that is best in the human spirit. The minority who refuse war when the majority accept it serve merely as the advance guard of protestants; they are the John Browns of the peace movement, creating a precedent to which the majority will one day look back."

"To convert the majority means a world-wide educational campaign of a kind which has never yet touched more than the few. And, as Lord Ponsonby has said, the time for such an educational campaign is not during a war, but before it begins, or, better still, in the period of fierce anti-war reaction after it has ended. That such a time will ultimately come we know, and for that you and I must live and hope. . . ."

P.P.U. COUNCIL MEETS

Future Policy Discussed

THE resignation from the Peace Pledge Union of Captain Philip Mumford was accepted with regret and with an expression of appreciation of his past services, by the National Council of the P.P.U. at its meeting at Hitherwood, Sydenham Hill, last week-end. Mr. Bertrand Russell's resignation had been similarly accepted at a previous emergency meeting of the Council.

In the representation of the areas on the Council (so far received), the only change from last year was the appointment of Rev. Alexander Miller by the London Area. Co-opted on to the Council were Arthur Wragg and Frank Dawtry. It was decided not to make a new appointment to the presidency vacated by the death of George Lansbury.

It was reported that in May there had been 210 new members and 627 resignations—the first time the latter had exceeded the former, which was apparently at least partly due to a deliberate weed-ing-out process.

Other Reports

On finance, Stuart Morris reported that a headquarters staff meeting, which considered (among other things) the financial position and a tendency of the work to slacken off, had agreed to a drastic reduction of staff, and a number had been given notice. This action was endorsed.

The Editor of *Peace News* reported on further efforts to obtain paper and find printers willing to print in view of the latest legislation and regulations, and described how it had at last been possible to get out that week's issue (the first copies of which he had brought to the meeting straight from the press).

Three things which Nancy Richardson said the Pacifist Service Bureau was getting on with were: a scheme to train

(continued in next column)

We Need A New Sense Of Responsibility

By JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

"NO-ONE," said a Government spokesman on the wireless the other night, commending the new extension of the excess profits tax, "ought to have a bigger income at the end of this war than he had at the beginning."

Probably the anxieties of the crisis had made him a little careless: for he was a Labour man. And I do not suppose he really meant that it would be intolerable if the unemployed man came out of the war earning four times the amount of his dole. He was thinking of what are called "the higher brackets." But even then his conception seemed a little inadequate: for there is no doubt that the great majority of middle-class folk will be earning a great deal less at the end of the war than they were at the beginning. So that the relative inequality of incomes, even if the biggest incomes are allowed to grow no bigger, will be much greater than before.

In other words, our *ad hoc* collectivism is merely an attempt to stabilize the existing social pattern. That is not its conscious purpose, neither will it be achieved. But it is an infinite pity that the authorities did not long ago accept, for their own purposes, the truth we pacifists have been trying to impress upon the public mind: that in order to resist by force of arms a totalitarian nation at war you are compelled to become totalitarian yourself. In the main we advanced that as an argument against resisting totalitarianism by force of arms; but, being a truth, it was equally valid if taken as an indication of the right way to prepare for modern war. You cannot successfully wage modern war without a social revolution.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Some sort of social revolution is therefore inevitable now. But how much better it would have been if it had been undertaken betimes and we had been spared the moral humiliation of the policy of "appeasement"—the endeavour of a senile mentality to maintain the values of a dead commercial world.

No doubt a social revolution for the purpose of determined war against Hitler would have meant that pacifists would have had a much thinner time than we actually had. But that, I cannot help thinking, would have been good for us. We should have been spared much of our own painful confusion between "appeasement" and peace; we should have been warned against cherishing the easy illusion that pacifism was a political creed that could be operative at the familiar level of politics; we should have been relieved of that heavy cargo of well-meaning but superficial persons who believed that they had only to sign the pledge on the dotted line to be relieved of the menace of the war.

It is a pity that we had to wait for circumstances to do for us what we could have done with a better grace ourselves: but we are very British, and we could not help being infected by the disease of British democracy. In consequence, as the nation has had to go totalitarian in a hurry, so have we had to come to a consciousness of our own deeper nature in a hurry.

But if we have, as I believe we have, the imagination and the resolution to make our necessity our opportunity, and to use to creative ends the far more realistic position that is now being

(continued from column 1.)

people in services likely to be needed by the community in the event, for example, of large-scale air raids; a suggestion for the relief of conscientious objectors and their dependents; and efforts to find employment for victimized C.O.s.

Nancy Browne, reporting on the work of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, said that its literature would concentrate rather on factual information than on advice. The local advisory bureaux were collecting funds for relief of C.O.s.

As chairman of the Women's Peace Campaign, Mary Gamble reported that there was a desire to keep some form of women's peace movement in being, with local groups and individual members making contact with other organizations in their localities.

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thrust upon us, why, then we shall become a movement indeed: a new kind of religious-political fraternity, trustworthy and flexible, such as cannot fail to have a precious part to play in the shaping of the future.

RE-SHAPING THE MOVEMENT

The first essential in this re-shaping of the movement is the development in every member of a new consciousness of responsibility to the movement. Every member of it should realize that by the quality of his conduct the movement as a whole is being judged.

I do not believe that the authorities really want to persecute us out of existence; I believe that they are dimly aware that we represent the conscience of this country—not all of it, of course: part of the conscience of this country is fighting with a sense of dedication against the enemy—but a vital part of it. If we can maintain ourselves in being as a living brotherhood, by our own devotion, we shall ultimately win the respect of our fellow-men, even those who find us incomprehensible.

That leads me naturally to the second aspect of our new sense of responsibility. Every member must regard it as his simple duty to make a continuous sacrifice for the movement. The poorest among us can put aside threepence a week for the central funds. Let him begin now!

And finally, the third aspect of the new responsibility: let every member make it his business to get understanding. Deepen conscience into consciousness. There is a great work before us.

PUBLISH THE TRUTH

By JOHN BARCLAY

(P.P.U. Groups Organizer)

THE truth has become so appalling that anyone guilty of perpetrating it has to risk the utmost penalties. No Government dare publish the losses sustained by its troops, and each magnifies the other's losses.

The shock will come when people can no longer be kept uninformed. What happens then will largely depend on the method of the telling. If the news is allowed to trickle out, the reaction will be slow; but if the knowledge comes swiftly, then the change in public opinion may be violent. Only the steady influence of a fearless minority can prevent the collapse of a moribund society, and as we all share responsibility for the state that we find ourselves in, it is up to us to prepare for the coming avalanche.

The more intimately we can associate ourselves with events, the more likely we shall be to gauge in advance the direction and force of the coming catastrophe. The corruption of bodies and minds on a gigantic scale is bound to lead to widespread physical and moral disaster, and I can imagine an end to war coming from the unifying of all stable elements against the moral and physical collapse of the majority.

Society may collapse under the weight of an overwhelming savagery. The war is becoming more savage every day and events may soon make it impossible to prevent any sane opinion being heard. Before that time comes, I believe it is possible for pacifists and others to unite in a great effort and so prevent the catastrophe which all are beginning to visualise. Fear must go, and the truth must be published. *The truth about the war would stop the war.*

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HASTINGS. Mary and Kenneth Wray, "Tinkers Dell," Battle, welcome Paying Guests. Beautiful country; easy bus distance of sea. 2½ gns. double, 3 gns. single. Vegetarian or meat.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s.; double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.

LOVELY LUSTLEIGH. Come and leave your children at Mapstone Home School and Guest House. Two houses, high, healthy—over 500ft. above sea-level. Farm produce, home baking. Family terms, moderate.—Mapstone, Lustleigh, Devon.

WYE VALLEY HOLIDAYS. Guest House and Community Crafts Centre. Vegetarian diet.—Barn House, Brockweir, Mon.

MISCELLANEOUS

BECOME a non-smoker! Save £10-£20 per annum. Improve—and preserve—your health. Unique, drugless, infallible method.—Wainley Course, 87 Taggart Avenue, Liverpool 16.

CYCLES: Britain's best at £5 9s. and £5 18s., carriage paid; every necessary accessory, even to cyclometer. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FORWARD MOVEMENT, P.P.U. A Manifesto now ready. Also two give-away leaflets. Speaker's Notes weekly. Speakers available for all types of meetings and could stay several days in one district if desired.—4 Doughty Mews, London, W.C.1.

HIGHGATE, London. Furnished top-floor flat. Quiet neighbourhood. 2 rooms, kitchen and box-room, use of bathroom. Accom. two or three. Pacifists preferred. 18s. 6d. p.w.—Apply Box 456, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON (and Mrs. Helen Whitcomb), health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1. (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way, North Letchworth.

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen, 239 Sellin Court Road, London, S.W.17.

PRINTING of any description. Cheapest house in country for Leaflets, etc. Speedy delivery.—Gait and Son, Shipley, Yorks. Entirely PPU.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The books for which *Action* and *New Leader* refused advertisements. *Truth* says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it. 2s. 6d. from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

TUESDAY, June 11, 7.45 p.m., Dick Sheppard Club, Binney St. (opposite Selfridges), W.1; London PPU members meeting; Eric T. Roach (WRI); Sybil Morrison (chairman).

WAR calls for different message. Come, hear it in different setting, with drama and music, at Onward Meetings, Millicent Fawcett Hall, Tufton Street, Westminster (nr. Abbey). Every Sunday, 6.30 p.m. Special appeal to Youth.

To P.P.U. Group Leaders

Please make sure that all members and, as far as possible, other readers in your district who have been getting "Peace News" through their newsagents now get it through YOU. And please let us have your orders as soon as possible

Council Report

(continued from page 3)

POSTER TRIAL.

Consideration was given to the poster trial and particularly to the suggestion that the defendants should give the court some undertaking. It was pointed out that they could only give undertakings as regards their own actions, but also that these would be strengthened if they could be endorsed by the Council.

With two dissentients, the Council ultimately endorsed an agreed statement which included a reference to the fact that at its last emergency meeting the Council carried a proposal that the particular poster in question be withdrawn (against an amendment that it be "suspended"). It was agreed that local groups should be expected to respect this latter decision, as the poster had been issued from headquarters.

Stuart Morris reported further police action against P.P.U. members which was being investigated, and in respect of which help was being given.

In view of the financial position, it was decided to inform the War Resisters' International that while the P.P.U. acknowledged its debt of £200 affiliation fee (which it would settle as soon as it could), it was bound to reconsider further commitments, which it would do at the next Council meeting.

An offer of collaboration from the Peace Book Company was referred to the Finance Committee for report to the Executive Committee.

FUTURE POLICY

For the consideration of future policy, members of the Council had before them the draft report of the Forethought Committee, a memorandum by Alexander Miller, and the Forward Movement manifesto; Sir Richard Acland's movement was also referred to and Roy Walker read a statement dealing particularly with the Forethought Committee's draft report that described "the suggestion of peace by negotiation" as "inopportune at the moment."

John Middleton Murry suggested that Roy Walker's view (that substantially the same kind of propaganda as had been possible up till now was still possible) did not correspond to the actual situation to-day. After considerable discussion, the relevant paragraph of the Forethought Committee's report was amended to read: "Though a just peace by negotiation may be impossible at this moment, the principle of reconciliation remains the only basis of an enduring peace, and this principle the P.P.U. must endeavour to keep alive in the public mind."

With other slight amendments, the report was approved to be sent to groups.

SCHEME TO AID C.O.s

The remainder of the time was devoted to a discussion of the scheme for the relief of C.O.s and their dependants which had been submitted to the Pacifist Service Bureau by the Nottingham Group and which Charles Baldwin had already outlined.

Extending Max Plowman's idea of giving C.O.s work and accommodation when they were victimized, the scheme had, he said, already been started in Nottingham and large properties had been rented for the purpose. It was hoped that the Council would support the scheme, which must be a national one. The idea was that such groups of C.O.s should be self-supporting—in fact, the nucleus of the new social order.

After discussion (in which the need for expert advice was emphasized), it was decided to ask the Pacifist Service Bureau to bring definite proposals to the Executive.

More Arrests and Courts-Martial

GEORGE PLUME, of Hampstead, one of the first conscientious objectors to have his case dismissed by the Appellate Tribunal, was arrested on May 25.

Last Thursday he was fined £2 for refusing to undergo medical examination and was ordered to report for medical examination within seven days.

Another C.O., John Anderson, of Dunfermline, was arrested on May 22.

Harry D. Wilson, was summoned at Hull on May 23 for refusal to attend medical examination. He was taken into custody by the police and detained for examination, which was to take place the same day. Wilson had been ordered by the Appellate Tribunal to do non-combatant duties.

More objectors have been court-martialled. They are:—

William Holness: a member of Jehovah's witness who was taken to Carlisle on April 27 and court-martialled on May 23. It is understood that he still refuses to wear uniform.

Philip Boyle, of Glasgow: Court-martialled on May 25, wearing battle-dress.

Robert Walker, of Southampton, arrested on May 12, has been given 21 days' detention at Portsmouth for refusal to obey orders, though he has not been court-martialled.

Advisory Bureaux

Following are further amendments and additions to the lists of Advisory Bureaux for C.O.s already published. Any similar changes should be sent to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

ADDITIONS

DARTFORD. Mr. Howard Mell, 101 Heath Lane, Dartford.

REIGATE. R. West, Salvindon, Pilgrims Way, Reigate, Surrey.

TONBRIDGE AND DISTRICT. Tonbridge Advisory Bureau, 34a Quarry Hill Road, Tonbridge, Kent.

AMENDMENTS

GLASGOW. Andrew White, 48 Dundas Street, Glasgow C.1.

LEWISHAM. Mrs. Freda Vincent, 112a Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, S.E.12.

ST. LEONARDS. Mr. Drinkwater, 22 Wellington Square, Hastings.

WAKEFIELD. Rev. J. B. Tonkin, 43 Bradford Road, Wakefield.

WOOD GREEN. Mr. Leonard Melville, 81 Princes Avenue, Alexandra Park, N.22.

YORK. Mr. C. W. Hutchinson, 2 Galtres Grove, Shipton Road, York.

Peace News Summary

THANKFULNESS for the witness borne by young men before the tribunals for conscientious objectors is expressed in the *Epistle*—or annual message to members—issued by the 272nd annual meeting of Quakers, which completed its sessions last week. The message was read at every Quaker meeting in the country on Sunday. It went on:—

"Out of deep religious conviction we maintain our opposition to military conscription. And if governments press upon us totalitarian claims which clash with the claims of conscience, older Friends, as well as younger, will be ready to testify that we live under a higher compulsion than that of the State. Our first allegiance is to Jesus Christ. We are bound to refuse, at no matter what cost, all that conflicts with our loyalty to him.

"Yet strongly as we hold to our Christian peace testimony, we cannot separate ourselves from the nation of which we are a part and to which we owe so much. Let us not fail of understanding and respect for those who are risking all in response to the call to arms.

AMONG the people detained last week-end under the Defence Regulations was Mrs. A. W. M. Greenfield, of Orchard Avenue, Parkstone, an active *Peace News* seller and long known for her pacifist sympathies.

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NEWS OF OBJECTORS

PROTEST AT INTOLERANCE

A PROTEST against the "intolerant attitude" of the tribunal was signed by eleven objectors and other persons at Bloomsbury County Court on May 21 during the proceedings of the South-Eastern Tribunal for C.O.s. It was handed to the Clerk of the Tribunal.

Presided over by Judge Sir Gerald Hurst, the members of the tribunal had dismissed each application up to that time, the objectors' names being placed upon the military register in each instance without qualification.

The protest declared: "We, the undersigned, feel it our duty to protest against the intolerant attitude of this tribunal and their apparent lack of concern to discover whether there is any true conscientious objection and to take such objection into account."

Sir Gerald Hurst was presiding in the absence through illness of Judge Davies, who was expected to resume shortly.

IT'S OUR BIRTHDAY!

What about giving us a birthday present? Yes, this is our fourth birthday! And please make it a bumper present to celebrate both the event itself and the fact that we have had a struggle to live to see it.

Last week that struggle was greater than it has ever been. Partly through the valiant work of voluntary helpers we were able to overcome difficulties that at first seemed insuperable—though we were unfortunately unable to prevent publication from being later than usual.

For our part we propose to mark the occasion by closing the *Peace News Fund*, which (since it was opened just over a year ago) has reached a grand total of £644/5/8½ and open, as from the beginning of this month, a new fund which we make no apology for calling the "*Peace News*" Fighting Fund, since we are, in fact, fighting for our very existence. So let's hear from you—and let's see this fund grow at not less than double the rate of the other.

But although helping *Peace News* helps us to give direct (as well as indirect) help to the PPU, we would also urge you yourself to give direct to the PPU. Its financial statement to the Council last weekend showed it to be in very great need. Besides the general funds, gifts are particularly needed for:

Basque House Dilapidations. This fund still needs £127 0 0 by next Friday (June 14th) to realize two conditional promises of £50 each. This is a special responsibility of PPU members. Please do your bit NOW.

Clackmannan Election Fund. Only a small proportion of the deposit money lent by the PPU was returned by the election committee. Of the balance, the sum of £95 is still outstanding.

Please address gifts for the "*Peace News*" Fighting Fund to The Accountant, "*Peace News*," 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and all others to The Treasurer, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London W.C.1, marking them clearly "General Fund," "Basque House Dilapidations," or "Clackmannan" as the case may be.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implicit therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised.) Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped, addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

What Does



Stand For?

A FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (May 17), or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:

Vera Brittain; George M. L. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; Storm Jameson; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragg.

For further particulars write P.P.U. headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

Poster Case

P.P.U. Leaders Bound Over

When the hearing of the charges against six leaders of the Peace Pledge Union under the Defence Regulations was resumed at Bow Street Police Court yesterday (Thursday), counsel for the defence, recalling the magistrate's suggestion at the previous hearing that they should consider what undertaking they would give as regards future propaganda, submitted, as such an undertaking, a resolution passed by the National Council of the P.P.U. last week-end in which the defendants concurred.

The prosecution and the magistrate having accepted the statement, each of the defendants was bound over for 12 months in his own recognizance of 40s. to sign the undertaking and observe it "not only in the letter but in the spirit."

The resolution was as follows:

"This Council repudiates the suggestion that it has ever directed its literature specifically or primarily to soldiers or that the poster in question was part of an endeavour to create disaffection in His Majesty's Forces. The Council recognises, however, that in present circumstances the poster may be made to bear an interpretation which was not in the minds of those responsible for its issue 2 years ago or for its subsequent exhibition.

"In order to avoid this misinterpretation the Council hereby withdraws the poster and instructs its officers to exercise due care in the issue of future literature with a view to avoiding this kind of misinterpretation.

"They are satisfied that to give any further undertaking would be to surrender liberties which Sir John Anderson has explicitly promised to maintain for the present."

A fuller report for the purpose of record will appear in next week's *Peace News*.

CORRECTION

A curious double typographical error in our report of the poster case last week made an important part of the evidence meaningless. It was in the evidence given by Maurice Rowntree, which should have read: "He thought that poster was a clumsy one, but they did stand for the right to put that general point of view" (not "that did not stand").

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IS A **FOOD**
CHOCOLATE